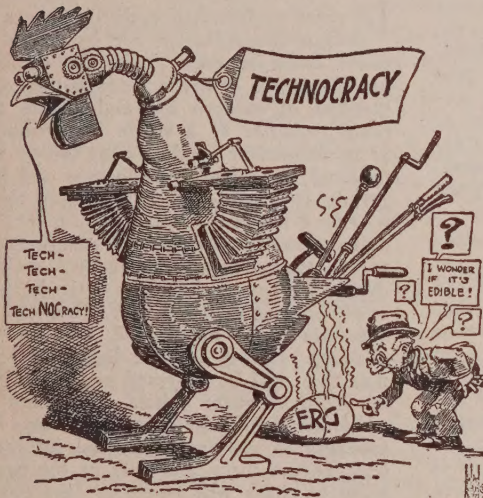


# THE WORLD

Vol. XVI  
No. 3

# TOMORROW



*Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch*

## TECHNOCRACY

Paul H. Douglas

## Buchmanism—An Escape

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

## Socialize the Land

H. J. VOORHIS

JANUARY 18th

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## Farmers and War Debts

H. N. BRAILSFORD



## The Church and Mr. Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge was a small-town lawyer who, by dint of good fortune, a native political shrewdness and loyalty to Murray Crane's Massachusetts Republican machine, rose from one political eminence to another until he finally reached the dizzy heights of the Presidency. His luck held out, and the coincidence of his administration with the great boom quieted all political criticism to such a degree that he acquired a mythical reputation for political sagacity which was quite beyond his real achievements. Perhaps his greatest virtue was that he maintained a simple dignity in the presidential office.

His popularity rested partly upon the fact that big business found his policy of letting sleeping dogs lie greatly to its advantage. In part, his popularity rested upon his reputation for maintaining the old New England virtues of thrift, industry and honesty. A puritan nation which had transmuted its puritanism into paganism thought it saw in him what it really wanted to be; but it was particularly happy that his private puritanism did not interfere with its political paganism. Such, in brief outline, was the character of Coolidge, neither a great Christian nor a great statesman.

But the Christian pulpit seems to think otherwise. Witness the sermons which were preached about him the Sunday after his death: "He was great enough to draw the masses to him by sheer force of character—great enough to make an outright profession of Christian faith while occupying the office of president," declared one pastor. "No more steadfast character of American manhood has appeared prominently in our generation," said Dr. S. Parkes Cadman. "He has received promotion into that higher life in which he so sincerely believed, and we rejoice in his advancement," is the testimony of Dr. Darlington, of the Church of the Heavenly Rest.

Bishop Manning imparted his episcopal benediction: "Calvin Coolidge illustrated in a high degree the exhortation of the Apostle Paul: 'Stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.' May his memory long be an influence among our people." Reverend Romig, of the West End Reformed Church, surpassed all his brethren by placing Coolidge among the Christian saints: "He was essentially religious. He put himself at the disposal of God. When he became President he came to a realization that he needed the strength of Almighty God." Another pastor declared, "Among the greatest of Mr. Coolidge's virtues was his persistent adherence to the teachings of the Bible."

Mr. Coolidge was little better or worse than the civilization which gave him birth, but a church which has no higher perspective on the moral and spiritual problems of an age than to allow itself such eulogies is certainly the salt that has lost its savor. There was no reason why the church should attack the memory of

Mr. Coolidge. A certain generosity in estimating the achievements of the dead is a natural human inclination which the church is bound to indulge. But need the pulpit be as extravagantly uncritical as this?

## Scuttle the Schools!

One test of a civilization is its attitude toward the education of its children. Revolutionary governments, universally, while neglecting many other important phases of progress, rarely fail to place their energy behind education. Spain, for example, in the first year of the republic, has completed 7,500 new schools and plans to build new ones to a total of 20,000 before the new regime is two years old. Soviet Russia, as is well known, whatever its sins, has sought from the first to build a growing generation sound in mind and body, even though we must confess that "sound" implies a heavy dosage of communist doctrine. Commentators of all points of view have exclaimed over the care bestowed upon the young wherever a government comes into being which contains even a moderate measure of social responsibility.

It is all the more glaring an exposure of capitalism's ethical collapse, then, to witness the present desperate attempts, throughout the United States, to make the schools the first and chief institutional victims of our collective ineptitude. The eyes of young children are being subjected to the strain of writing on paper little better than coarse wrapping sheets; so economical are superintendents, perforce, that the most essential supplies are being cut to the point where teaching effectiveness is impossible. To the inadequate feeding in homes is being added economy of feeding in the school-house and extra stresses imposed for want of satisfactory space. A few more years of this present trend and we shall be back at the stage which prevailed in the rural schools of New England backwoods country a couple of decades ago—where, in one place for example, teachers were obliged to teach geography without a single map and English with a dictionary dating back to 1848.

If to anyone located in an especially fortunate district this sounds like irresponsible alarmism, let him ponder thoughtfully the report recently made public in Washington by the Office of Education, Department of the Interior. Inquiries were sent to 3,176 school superintendents in cities of 2,500 population or over, and to 4,261 county superintendents. Nearly two-thirds of 478 cities of 10,000 to 100,000 population report that some services of their schools have been curtailed or abolished entirely. In order of frequency of occurrence, the eliminations include supervisors of music, kindergartens, supervisors of art, dental service, night schools, rural nurse service, medical inspection, manual training and elementary-grade home economics. In 26 cases, Arkansas schools have been en-



tirely abandoned. In the North Atlantic division, comprising New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the total school budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933, has been cut only 1.59 per cent from the previous year, but expenditures for new buildings and other capital outlay have been slashed 47.10 per cent. And this is the section which rates better than any other.

In the North Central Division, including Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas, the 1933 budget for current expenses of schools is cut 13.55 per cent. In the South Atlantic Division, the cut is a little less than six per cent; in the South Central Division, the budget has been slashed 20.54 per cent; in the Western Division there is a budget reduction of 14.70 per cent. Teachers' salaries have been cut also, at widely varying rates, from only 0.39 per cent in the North Atlantic Division down to the worst-paid section, the South Central Division, where a slash of more than 20 per cent is reported.

It is interesting to observe that the most drastic cuts in teachers' salaries have come in those sections of the country where organization of the teaching fraternity into unions has proceeded most slowly, and *vice versa*.

The whole truth is not revealed by these statistics, for the population increase does not stop during a depression, even though the birth rate may fall off a trifle. The only way to estimate these drops in expenditures is against the fact that normally there must be a regular, ceaseless rise in the annual expenditures for education, both in maintenance costs and in new construction.

## We Give Spain a Laugh

In one of our recent issues Eccentricus held forth in his far corner about the historic role of precedence in diplomatic relations and cited not merely medieval examples but some recent adventures of our Ambassador to France. What a pity that he did not wait a few days, until he could have included the uproarious yarn of our Ambassador to Spain! Dolly Gann at her funniest was never quite like this! The Spanish government officials were giving a diplomatic dinner. They invited guests, of course, for even the most diplomatic of dinners can hardly exclude all of the diplomats. But our Ambassador, so the news reports stated, did not attend. Instead, he remained home indulging in a first magnitude huff. The reason? Well, this representative of the great and sovereign American people had discovered that the various Ambassadors were being ranked slightly below the Speaker of the Spanish *cortes*, or parliament. That was too much! A mere legislative leader coming under the wire and reaching the feed bag in advance of Irwin Boyle Laughlin! Mr. Laughlin is an experienced

diplomat, and nowhere had he ever heard of such a thing. That Spain is doing many new things, hitherto unheard of, ought not to alter the immutable, divine laws of courtesy. Besides, Mr. Laughlin is a distinguished individual. Ever since his days at Yale, and his graduation from the Pittsburgh steel industry into diplomacy, far back in 1903, he has been ambassadoring somewhere—Japan, Siam, China, Turkey, England, Greece, and so on—if not exactly serving as Ambassador, learning the ropes, so that, when his hour of opportunity came, he should be equipped to put the Spaniards in their place.

It just so happened that Julian Besteiro, the Speaker of the *cortes*, while a naughty leftish Socialist, is also in his own right one of Europe's great intellectuals—a man of letters, a famous university professor, an experienced and practical leader of organized labor, and a personage recognized internationally for his numerous attainments. That made matters no more difficult, however, for our straight-thinking, right-minded representative. Precedence is precedence; upon this rock of right I take my stand. It so turned out that the Spaniards, droll fellows that they are, decided that they could wangle along and eat without nervous indigestion even if thus deprived of an outstanding guest. Precedent was smashed again.

## The Banks and Insull

None of the New York bankers who made loans to Samuel Insull's companies on the strength of collateral put up by him will admit that they knew of the widely advertised clause in the bond issues of Insull utilities to the effect that when the debts of the company reach 50 per cent of the assets, no more of the underlying securities behind the bonds should be pledged for further loans.

Apparently there are only two implications which can be drawn from this. Either the banks were extraordinarily ill-informed and incompetent or they are not telling the whole truth. Lewis F. Jacobson, attorney for the debenture holders, is charging that the standstill agreement of the banks, which Owen D. Young and Gerard Swope helped to engineer, was designed to carry the Insull companies through the four-month period previous to a bankruptcy, when the assets of the bankrupt belong to all the creditors, and that when this period expired, the companies were thrown into receivership and the banks claimed the collateral which the debenture holders had supposed would come to them.

One has the uneasy feeling from the testimony of both the Chicago and the New York bankers that they have been involved in Mr. Insull's transactions, and that they may well have breathed a sigh of relief when the Greek courts decided not to extradite that worthy gentleman.



## Journalism and Rumor

Based on a prediction announced with solemn assurance by the London *Daily Herald*, and supported supposedly by at least a modicum of fact, press dispatches to American newspapers late in December carried the forecast of a New Year's amnesty in India, under the terms of which not only Mahatma Gandhi but 20,000 of his "non-violent followers" would be at once set free. On the face of it, the report seemed spurious. The recent Round Table Conference had met with farcical ineptitude, representing India not at all but only Great Britain, and had formulated nothing worth mentioning save the procedure by which, without Indian support, the proposed constitutional arrangement was to be put through a parliamentary committee. New Year's Day came and went, with the Indians still behind the bars and no indications of any basic change in British policy.

This incident affords an opportunity to perform a long-neglected duty with respect to the *Daily Herald*. For years this journal struggled to remain alive; and though it was always on the edge of disaster, "the miracle of Fleet Street", as it came to be known, not only kept going but served as a mouthpiece through which a series of brilliant editors waged a faithful struggle for the British workers. The circulation, however, was pitifully low. At length, after having served to usher the MacDonald Ministry into office and humbly to build up the prestige of the Labor Party, it was "put on its feet." That is to say, sweeping editorial changes were made, its physical control passed into private hands, and its editorial policy was entrusted to a group of writers with responsibility partly to the new owners and to the trade union movement. From a drab sheet unable to afford attractive paper, type, and features, it sprang overnight into superior excellence in all these points. One after another, feature writers of national fame were taken on; they paid scant heed to the interests that formerly characterized the paper but they built circulation.

Sales grew phenomenally, leaping up to half a million, a million, a million and a quarter. With every thousand new readers, a more and more sensational note crept in. Every now and again some announcement of tremendous import would be flashed across the first page, startling the entire nation to talking; if it all turned out next day to be nothing more than an excursion into imaginative literature, that did not seem to worry the *Daily Herald*. The sales program at last created a policy which ridiculed and misrepresented all of the groups within the Labor Party that were critical of MacDonald; though, when he betrayed the Party, the same writers who had been white-washing his every act turned suddenly and rended him with righteous indignation. The paper has been for two years one of the worst stirrers of anti-American hatred in the world; there is nothing it can find or invent which puts

Americans in a bad light, collectively and individually, that it overlooks. It is intensively nationalistic, cheering every British industrial achievement, such as the sale of 200 bombing planes to Belgium, and perpetually fawning over the petty accomplishments of every British contender in the international sports arena. It has relied, as most British papers have, on petty gambling for a circulation builder, with the usual prizes and emoluments. It has become, to our taste at any rate, cheap, conservative and the purveyor of just about everything that could make a labor movement lose whatever self-respect it may have had.

We make these comments not in exasperation, but in grief. There is much that the forward movements of the whole wide world can learn from a study of this sad experience. Once more, though it hardly needed demonstration, the policy of compromise for the sake of "influence" has been shown to be a delusion.

## No Taxation Without Revolution

Whether they know it or not, the Iowa farmers who have organized a campaign to frustrate the state in its program of auctioning off lands which have been confiscated for non-payment of taxes have embarked on a campaign strikingly similar to that of the National Congress in certain parts of India. In *The Story of Bardoli*, Gandhi's right-hand helper, Mahadev Desai, has described in illuminating detail the social effectiveness of a refusal to pay taxes, coupled with mass refusal, at a later stage, to purchase property put up for public sale for tax delinquency. In Bardoli (a section of Bombay Presidency) the stubborn resistance of peasants and property-owners completely broke the back of British autocracy and won a clean-cut victory.

In Iowa, of course, the situation is different. These farmers have not refused to pay while able to do so; they have simply been mulcted by the combined forces of the depression and official brutality. Dispatches state that one of the spokesmen of the farmers who gathered at Logan, in Harrison County, to see 2,000 pieces of property sold to the highest bidder, asserted confidently, notwithstanding the presence of 400 to 500 people: "There aren't going to be any bidders." And he was right. Nor does it appear that county officials attributed the failure to bid to impecunious conditions that affected every potential purchaser; rather, there had been a general agreement not to buy. Thus, even among that most individualistic element of our entire population, the agriculturists, there can grow under the duress of so great a crisis something approaching a bona fide solidarity.

Since a moratorium is unlikely to be granted, nor indeed any other effective measure for the relief of the poverty-stricken farming element, perhaps this is their best way out. Tax strikes of enormous proportions, on the part of those well able to pay but who will not, have long since become the order of the day in



northern cities, notably Chicago. Possibly the farmer may begin to wonder, as time goes on, why even in such matters as taking care of number one, the city dweller is allowed special dispensations not available to him.

## First Aid for Ghouls

The Earl of Halsbury, writing in the *British Legion Journal*, has made some startling predictions about the rôle of toxic gases in a future war. Lord Halsbury makes the pungent observation that "We cannot judge the nature of future wars from the known effects of chlorine or phosgene used in the World War. Some modern gases have an arsenical base and can be carried in light containers in liquid form and blown into fine smoke by a comparatively small charge of explosive. Even air containing one part in 200,000,000 of diphenyl-chlorarsine produces nasal irritation. One part in 50,000,000 causes marked symptoms, and with such a mixture five minutes is said to be the limit of human tolerance. The symptoms are intense mental distress and utter dejection. If severely gassed, people would be driven mad by the pain and the misery and would lose all mental control. If a town were first attacked with arsenical gas bombs, then others containing modern asphyxiant gas, its population would be obliterated."

There is, to be sure, nothing new in Lord Halsbury's "revelations." He has mentioned no chemical poisons with which American militarists or pacifists are unfamiliar. In fact, he appears to have omitted from his reckoning perhaps the very worst of all. More significant than such gruesome statements of grim fact, however, is the manner in which no one is ever allowed to suggest the dangers of poison gas without a rush of "experts"—especially in the newspaper craft—to controvert them. It is always easy, too, to produce on short notice a chemist of renown, if not of conscience, who will demonstrate effectively—for juvenile mentalities—that the World War proved how humane were toxic gases in comparison to shrapnel or machine gun fire. Lord Halsbury had the wit to anticipate this very argument; he knows, as every sensible person knows, that you can no more estimate the future effects of poison gas on the basis of the World War experience than you could predict the social changes due to electric lighting on the basis of whale oil illumination. But that disturbs the cheerful proponents of mass asphyxiation not at all. The *New York Times*, for example, merrily ridicules Lord Halsbury's figures and solemnly quotes World War casualty statistics to prove its contentions. Killing by poison gas, it points out, has been proved by chemists to have its limitations.

Thus fortified against the terrors of another war, the world may now resume its military preparation, as it were, in peace. When in due season the next orgy

of destruction bursts upon us, not whole cities, but only two-thirds of them; not millions, but only hundreds of thousands, can be sent in one day reeling and pawing and choking into hideous death.

We seldom have secret ambitions to be charged with dictatorial powers. But when we, if ever, assume that jaunty responsibility over our fellow-humans, we strongly suspect that our first act will be to abolish capital punishment, nay, even severe punishment of any kind, for ordinary murderers, degenerates, and perverts of destructive tendencies; while at the same time banishing to some remote and inaccessible island for all time those feral creatures which, in human form, seek to exercise over humankind the incantations of words and mathematics while all the time they are heading the world toward a destiny of self-extermination.

## Readin', Writin', and National Pride

When Americans were able to cite impressive statistics regarding our national trade, our corporate income, productivity, superior wage scales and other pre-depression phenomena, it was tolerable that our record on illiteracy should be somewhat less flattering. But now that the materialistic achievements of our era are dimmed, it comes with a peculiar humiliation to some, we suspect, to find that there are still 4,283,753 persons in our midst who can neither read nor write. Let not the cynic declaim the blessings of this darkness and point out cheerfully that four million of us, at any rate, cannot scribble amateur verses or read that class of periodicals so admirably described as "pulpwood" magazines. Even from this compensatory point of view, the four million still can listen in on our commercial broadcasts.

No, we insist that it is no slight blot on our standing among the nations that, after years of public prosperity, and even now when we can spare funds for military and naval extravagance, a reduction of only 648,152 was made in our illiterates between 1920 and 1930. At least, this is the conclusion of the Advisory Committee on Illiteracy, which, in keeping with the times, is disbanding and giving up its work, now to be carried on—we hope—by the National Illiteracy Crusade. A glance at the reference volumes on the subject shows that we still lag, in literacy, behind Germany, England, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Japan, Austria, and Australia. The committee, in retiring from the field, urges "the need of arousing every community to its utmost effort, every state department of education to assume its responsibility, and all state legislatures to appropriate funds for the removal of illiteracy." But what chance is there for gains in this direction, when from one end of the country to the other, public authorities, backed by associations of taxpayers, are engaged in a titanic struggle to cripple and stunt the entire educational system?



# The Capture of Shanhaikwan

**I**F the League of Nations had adopted a vigorous policy against Japan's aggressive action immediately after the seizure of Mukden in September, 1931, the situation in the Far East would now be much less menacing. The timid and evasive procedure of the great powers has been interpreted by the Japanese military authorities as a justification for the extension of their jurisdiction over an ever-widening area of Chinese territory. Now Shanhaikwan, a strategic railway center at the place where the great wall of China reaches the sea, has fallen to Japanese troops. No effort is being made to hide Japan's designs upon the province of Jehol. That country has, in fact, gone to the extent of issuing an ultimatum warning that "hostilities are likely to involve all of North China."

Imperialists have always justified their successive extensions of military occupation as acts of self-defense. The seizure of foreign territory infuriates the nationalists of that country, with the result that counter-attacks are made. Whereupon the invading power replies that security demands the crushing of opposition by an extension of military jurisdiction. Another counter-action is cited as a warrant for still further advances. And so on and on. By adopting this strategy, Japan has been able to maintain at every point that she is merely acting in self-defense. And now the flames of war threaten to reach an uncontrollable stage.

Still Japan maintains that she has not violated the Covenant of the League, or the Kellogg Pact, or the Nine-Power Treaty, and is not waging war. On the contrary she is merely acting in self-defense! And her diplomatists are placing great emphasis upon Secretary Kellogg's statement, during the negotiations of the Pact of Paris, that each nation alone possesses the right to decide for itself when it is acting in self-defense, as well as upon the reservations concerning self-defense made by other powers in connection with their ratification of the outlawry agreement. Moreover, a Japanese doctrine of special interest in Manchuria, an Asiatic equivalent of the Monroe Doctrine, is being advanced as grounds for objecting to interference by the League or any other outside power. Thus the Lytton Report is rejected as an impracticable, if not impertinent, proposal. And the men in control of Japan's foreign policy appear to be stricken with the most virulent form of military insanity that the world has witnessed in the past 15 years.

There is no need for argument to show that acquiescence in the face of this outrageous expansion of Japanese military rule will be utterly fatal to the peace

of the Far East and will wreck the structure of pacific machinery for settling international controversies. To believe that China will permanently submit to the loss of Manchuria, Jehol, and perhaps other portions of her northern territory, is to reveal a total lack of understanding of modern nationalism. Immediate chaos and ultimate warfare of revenge will flow inexorably from the prolongation of Japan's present policy. And what assurance have we that the same demented militarists of Japan will not—in self-defense!—attempt to crush opposition across the Soviet frontier, and thus create a crisis of still greater magnitude? Moreover, there are already ominous signs of a revival of the Yellow Peril scare in the United States, and frequent displays of irritation and resentment are revealed on both sides of the Pacific.

Fifteen months of drifting in a dangerous current has carried the League into a situation from which it can extricate itself only with a supreme effort. Fortunately, the Committee of Nineteen, the most alert and vigorous of all League bodies, is now formulating its policy. Surely this new act of flagrant aggression will stiffen the determination of League officials to take a resolute stand against Japan's criminal actions. More than ever world public opinion should insist that the conclusions of the Lytton Report be accepted, and that the procedure which it has laid down be diligently pursued.

**D**URING these solemn days it would be appropriate for citizens of the United States to meditate upon the significance of certain aspects of the foreign policy of their own country. The doctrine of armed intervention in the effort to protect national interests, the doctrine of special interests as revealed in the Theodore Roosevelt corollary of the Monroe Doctrine, the reservation of the exclusive right to determine when we are justified in resorting to armed action in self-defense, and the refusal to assume responsibility for the strengthening of the League of Nations and other permanent agencies of international justice—all these if extended on a universal scale will make permanent peace impossible.

When they are viewed from the perspective of the Far Eastern crisis, a vast flood of illumination is thrown upon the real significance of certain highly respectable policies of all the great powers. And so, while we are urging the League to stand resolutely against Japan's mad actions, let us, mindful of our own contribution to international misunderstanding and mistrust, sit penitently upon the ash heap!





*as Brailsford sees it*

EUROPEAN readers were puzzled by a passage in President Hoover's last message to Congress on the subject of the international debts. Mr. Hoover suggested that if America eases the burden of these debts, she may reasonably expect some form of compensation in European markets. He has hinted at this in earlier utterances, and apparently what he has in mind is that the European debtors should open their ports somewhat wider to American farm produce. Morally nothing could be more reasonable. Enlightened conduct on the creditors' part should stimulate a responsive generosity in the debtors. If Europe could help to restore prosperity to the American farm, while her own financial embarrassments are relieved, our earth would be a happier planet to inhabit. But as a proposition in economics, Mr. Hoover's suggestion raises difficulties. It seems, indeed, to our European minds so difficult that only with an extreme effort of politeness do we forbear from calling it nonsensical.

The difficulty is this: If Europe is ever to pay its debts to America, how in the name of common sense can it increase its purchases from America? If the whole debt were to be cancelled, some possibility of this kind there might be. But Mr. Hoover will not hear of cancellation. Assume, if you will, some period of suspension, after which payment is resumed gradually on a reduced scale. However much you reduce, and however long the delay, sooner or later the balance of trade between America and her European debtors must show a surplus of imports, in goods and services, over American exports. That is the key to this whole situation. No one disputes it, but nearly everyone ignores it. There are several alternative ways in which the actual exchange operation may be carried out. To a limited extent, and for a very short time, gold may be used. Triangular trading of some complexity may play a part in it. Your tourists will leave dollars behind them in France, and we may get some of them from the French in return for coal, and thus we can pay some small part of our debt to you. It is an amusing exercise to trace out these ramifications of international trade, but however serious they may be, they do not modify the root principle that governs international lending: the debtors must send

## *The Farmer and Europe's Debt*

to the creditor, in goods or services, more than they receive from him. We may manage it partly by carrying your passengers or goods in our ships, or by entertaining your tourists in our hotels. But in the main the account must be squared by a surplus

of imported over exported goods.

How, then, can we graft upon this principle Mr. Hoover's pleasant suggestion? It would lower our cost of living and raise our standard of life if we could flood our shops with American fruits and foods and tobacco. But dare we be so rash? Our first duty as debtors is to watch this international balance sheet. Somehow, in spite of tariffs, we must contrive to export more to America than we import from her. It is, of course, the balance that matters, and not the total on either side of the account. If the debt were scaled down to a modest amount, and if we had assurance that America would reverse her record, and admit our goods through open doors with a lavish welcome, why then, we might manage to take more of these farm products, and still achieve the necessary balance. But Mr. Hoover forbids us to make this flattering forecast: he is still for high tariff. Mr. Roosevelt has said some apparently contradictory things which may encourage a faint hope in our breasts. But we dare not yet reckon on this improbable reversal of America's trade policy. There is, as the world is organised today, only one safe way of attaining this debtor's balance. We must sell more to America, and buy less.

THIS is the A B C of the problem. But at this point the matter begins to interest us as Socialists. For a sharp conflict of interests presents itself within American society. Here, on the one hand, are the farmers, eager to recover the European market, anxious to flood it with wheat, corn, land, cotton and tobacco. Over against them stands the propertied class, above all the financiers. They are thinking, indeed, less of the governmental debts than of their investments in Europe, and their frozen credits advanced to German banks. Liberty bonds are safe; the American taxpayer will see to that. But the other debts are in grave peril, and the whole future of foreign lending is at stake. Their interest, then, is opposed to that of the farmer. They should desire, if they reasoned



clearly, a surplus of imports into America, instead of her present surplus of exports. That surplus will be difficult to attain in proportion as the farmer realises his desire. Every shipload that goes out with wheat or lard imperils this surplus, as surely as every ship that comes in with bootlegged wine or Malayan rubber favors it.

THE conflict, I will admit, is as yet theoretical only. The farmer, so far from seeing his class interest as a producer, actually ranges himself on the other side, and stiffens the backs of his spokesmen in Congress to resist cancellation. He is thinking presumably only of his interests as a taxpayer, and would prefer, therefore, that if Europe must default, she should do so rather on private than on governmental debts. But he has not yet realised that any serious attempt to draw the interest on either type of debt from Europe must bring about the shrinkage of his over-seas market. The financial groups are rarely his superiors in logic. They ought, in order to achieve a balance of trade suited to America's standing as a creditor, to demand a very much lower tariff. Yet in fact they are the backbone of the Republican party.

This apparent want of logic on the part of both the unconscious opponents in this obscure class conflict means, no doubt, that neither of them has thought out the bearings of this business of foreign lending

upon the domestic economic life of America. It cannot go on in the old way. The balance of trade must be reversed, if America proposes in future to be the world's money-lender. A country like Russia, with a planned economy and complete control, through centralised buying and selling, over imports and exports, could make the change with ease. Suppose that she felt no scruple about receiving interest, and that she had suddenly, say, by the discovery of some vast and easily exploited gold field, joined the ranks of the world's creditors. She could attain the necessary creditor's surplus of imports by a stroke of the pen. She simply orders machines or consumers' goods in excess of the value of the gasoline, timber and wheat that she exports, or else she stops the export of wheat, or goes slow in cutting lumber. There is no difficulty about that. The mass of her population will eat more, or work less strenuously for fewer hours. In other words the interest received by the new balance of trade results, without disturbance, in a generally higher standard of life.

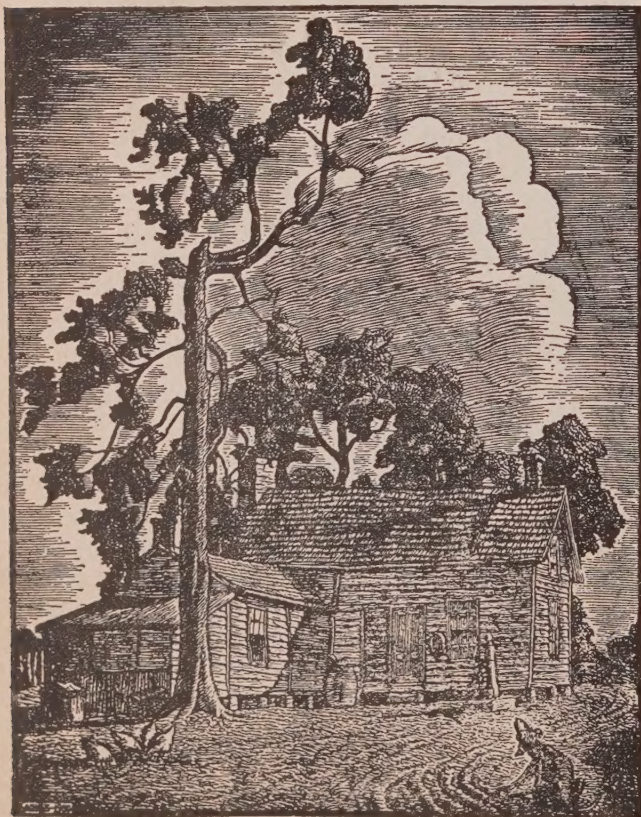
No capitalist country can adjust itself in this direct and simple way. It cannot balance exports and imports by a central decision. It can only try to effect the same result by clumsy manipulation of tariffs. Nor will the comfort which should result from the debtors' payments be diffused in a general raising of the standard of life. It will go to maintain a leisure class.

It is improbable that the adjustment will ever be made. It demands a change in national psychology, and a power of dictation from the centre over the many interests concerned which one cannot imagine under either governing party at Washington. Let us suppose that the governmental debts are either repudiated or as good as cancelled. There remain the investments, \$11 billions net in amount at present, which means at least \$400 millions in annual interest. Dare either party tell the democracy that it proposes to adjust the tariff so that a surplus of imports (taking services with goods) of this amount shall be received? Nor can it be done, in America, as it might be done in England, silently, surreptitiously, by a quiet understanding between the bankers and the treasury. I conclude, then, that it will not be done.

The balance will never be struck. The world will lack its moneylender. In anger and unreason it will struggle with debts which for lack of the right balance cannot ever be paid. America, none the less, will go on accumulating a surplus, which she must either lend abroad or use in ways incompatible with capitalist practice at home. It may drive her into imperialism. It is, in whatever guise, the motive force of vast changes that will make eventful history.

*H. N. Brailsford*

London, December 28, 1932



A woodcut by J. J. Laukes



# Technocracy

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

**W**HATEVER may be one's belief about the soundness of the concrete proposals which have been advanced by Howard Scott and the Technocrats, one can only warmly welcome the extraordinary interest which they have aroused as a clear sign that most of the people have by now seen through the essential vacuity of the stuffed shirts of the bull market era and are in a mood to consider basic proposals for the reconstruction of society. With the economic goal of the Technocrats there can, moreover, be no dispute. A world set free by science in which consumption balances production and where there would be a high standard of living on a 16- to 20-hour week is most certainly what we all want. The promises which Technocracy offers may be somewhat unduly gilded but they are nevertheless along the lines which we hope the future may fulfill.

Since Technocracy, however, purports to be an engineering and scientific analysis of the present debacle and of the way out, it is not enough to approve of its purpose. For if we were told by a construction engineer that a huge and ugly building were about to collapse and that he had detailed plans for a better structure which was to take its place, we would, even though we disliked the old building, properly ask for the evidence of its imminent collapse and also for the detailed plans of the new. It is necessary, in short, to use caution and intelligence in charting the future as well as to have goodwill. To an examination of the main tenets in the arguments of the Technocrats we now turn:

1. *The Prophecy of the Downfall of Capitalism Through Technological Unemployment.* Scott and his followers lay great stress upon the increased productivity of human labor resulting from technological improvements. The output of steel per man-hour quintupled between 1900 and 1929, while that of automobiles increased by no less than 14 times in the quarter-century between 1904 and 1929. Pointing to a few almost automatic factories, Scott implies that these will furnish the prototypes of the future. The Technocrats declare that the men who are thus thrown out of work tend not to be re-employed. The number of the unemployed constantly grows, and as it does so, purchasing power is reduced and hence additional unemployment is created in industry, which in turn still further diminishes the purchasing power, etc. Scott admits that in the early days of our industrial history the displaced workers were re-employed in the development of new industries and in the making of the

machines themselves. This outlet, he now believes, has gone since the machine industry itself is mechanized and the new industries are speedily put upon a similar basis.

2. *The Greater Growth of Debt Than of Production.* The Technocrats point out that the invested capital in the country has been increasing faster than production. Industry is therefore loaded down with ever heavier interest charges, which it finds increasingly difficult and finally impossible to pay. This greater burden of debt combined with the increasing technological unemployment contributes to the final catastrophe.

3. *The Balancing of Production and Consumption by the Use of Energy Money.* Beginning with Robert Owen's proposals in 1819 for a labor currency, intelligent men who have watched the periodic business depressions of the last century have sought to develop some system whereby the forces of consumption might balance those of production. The proposals for a currency based upon labor, which were exemplified in the labor exchanges of Josiah Warren and Robert Owen and in the credit theories of Proudhon, had this for their purpose. If only as many labor-hours of money were issued to workers, shopkeepers, etc., as were embodied in the commodities produced, and if these in turn were priced according to the amount of labor embodied within them, then the supply of purchasing power in the hands of the public would be precisely equal to the total of the prices of commodities. There would, therefore, be an apparently perfect balance between production and consumption and all of the goods produced would be bought at their tagged prices. Gluts and business depressions under this reasoning would be prevented.

**A** SIMILAR purpose lies behind Mr. Scott's proposals for an energy currency, which seems to have been stimulated in part by the work of the distinguished physical chemist, Frederick Soddy, on *Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt*. Commodities would be priced according to the amount of energy consumed in producing them. The sum total of prices would therefore be the number of millions of horsepower or kilowatt hours of energy which had been expended. It is apparently not quite certain whether the labors of men would be reduced to their energy equivalents or whether a qualitative weighing would be applied to them, but if strict logic were followed the former would seem to be the design. The members of



society would then be given energy cards, which would resemble suburban railway tickets, entitling them to purchase commodities with these energy quotations. As each purchase was made, the requisite number of energy units would be punched from or torn off the card. By the time the card was used up, the commodities would have passed into the hands of their final purchasers and the money units would also have disappeared from circulation. Here again, it is argued, consumption would balance production, and depressions and unemployment would be avoided.

Mr. Scott does not mention what is to happen to the ownership of industry or whether it is to be socialized or allowed to remain in private hands. This silence may be accidental or it may be tactical. I have myself criticized Mr. Scott for failing to grapple with this problem, but if one studies his proposals in some detail, it appears as though public ownership were fundamentally implicit in his proposals. For he clearly wants industry to be operated as an integrated unit, which it would be difficult to effect under private ownership. He is, furthermore, bitterly opposed to the piling up of debt claims which a system of private investment would necessitate. While it might therefore be technically possible for the energy currency to be combined with the payment of interest to the private holders of property, it would seem as though the logic of Mr. Scott's system would reject such a method as the permanent basis of society, even though present holders of property might be pensioned off with the grant of energy cards for their life time. Whether or not Mr. Scott was wise in thus concealing the necessarily socialistic implications of Technocracy is not certain, but there would seem to be but little doubt that such is the purport of the plan.

**T**HERE is therefore much more sense to the proposals of the Technocrats than the vast majority of economists have been willing to grant in their public comments upon it. It has indeed been unfortunate that both the advocacy of the plan and the attacks upon it have been staged with a maximum of publicity ballyhoo which has seldom gone down to the deeper issues involved. As one probes into the analysis of the Technocrats, it becomes apparent that they have over-emphasized the two specific forces which they allege are rapidly making for catastrophe, have ignored other weaknesses inside the capitalistic system, and have minimized the enormous difficulties attendant upon the development of an energy system of currency and prices.

Thus, in stressing technological unemployment as they do, they ignore the forces which work towards the reabsorption of labor. It is not enough to say that while the expansion of industry permitted this re-employment up to 1920, the developments of the last decade have made this impossible in the future. For

if a quadrupling of output per capita during the century from 1820 to 1920 resulted in the same approximate increase in real wages and in virtually no permanent technological unemployment, how can we be sure that this process has suddenly stopped?

The Technocrats give no evidence of understanding the real economic factors which prevented this increase in output from causing a permanent increase in unemployment. That process very simply was this: the increased output per worker resulted in lower money costs, which in turn caused prices to be reduced or profits increased or both. If prices were reduced, then an increased quantity of the goods would be demanded. If the demand were elastic, as was in general true of automobiles, the increase in the quantity demanded would be greater than the relative reduction in price and the gain in per capita output. The result would be a larger total expenditure for the article and an increase in the total number employed in the industry. This was roughly the condition in the manufacturing industries as a whole up to 1919 and in the automobile industry for some years thereafter.

If the demand were inelastic so that the quantity demanded did not increase as rapidly as the reduction in price and the advance in individual output, then it is of course true that the total outlay upon the article would be less than before and that some workers would be permanently squeezed out from that industry. But since the consumers would not be spending as much upon the given article as they had been, they would have more money left in their pockets. They would therefore buy more of other articles, have sums ready for new products, or save some of this surplus. In any of these events, this purchasing power would sooner or later increase the demand for other products and cause more labor to be re-employed there. In strict theory, the number who would thus be re-employed would be precisely equal to the number displaced with no net increase in unemployment.

**N**OR would the situation be very different if the gains were largely taken in increased profits by the owners. For these profits would either be reinvested or spent on consumers' goods, and in either case additional labor would be employed in these other lines. Ultimately, to be sure, the reinvested profits might cause such a quantity of goods to be turned out that in order to dispose of them prices would have to be reduced, and the cumulative effects of this fall in prices might bring on a business depression. But since this involves considerations other than those stressed by the Technocrats, they may for the moment be neglected.

There is, however, one factor which classical economic theory of the type which has been outlined above tends to overlook, namely, the fact that the workers who are thrown out of employment in the



given industry have their incomes cut off and their purchasing power reduced. If this reduced purchasing power gets to other industries as speedily as the increased purchasing power of consumers and owners, then there will be a partial neutralization of the recuperative forces which have been described. For while the increased purchasing power, as Dr. Haberler of Vienna has demonstrated, has the head-start, its passage to ultimate re-employment may be slowed up by its being impounded in banks, or held in pockets or in tills, so that in practice the decline in purchasing power may get there first and thus create rather prolonged unemployment. To this extent, therefore, the Technocrats may be right, although the recuperative forces are real and have in the past generally been adequate.

**S**IMILARLY, the Technocrats grossly over-emphasize the evil consequences that result when the amount of capital increases faster than the index of production. This, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, is an almost inevitable consequence of labor not increasing as rapidly as either capital or product. It is largely, if not wholly, compensated for by a fall in the rate of interest, so that there is little or no evidence that the share of capital in the total national dividend increased over the last half-century. It is true that it did increase during the years 1923-1929, but we as yet do not have sufficient evidence to indicate that this is a long-time tendency. If it is, the consequences for society may be serious, but so far as the present charges are concerned, the only verdict which can at the moment be rendered is that of "not proved."

It is, of course, true that because of the present decline in production and the fall in prices, private and public debts would absorb most of our present national wealth of somewhat under 200 billion dollars. If, however, we could get out of the depression and return to a price level somewhere near that of 1929, the carrying charges of the present level of debt should by no means be as excessive as now, for the money value of our national wealth would then probably be close to 350 billions. This would leave a substantial equity for the farmers and the enterprisers. The carrying charges of somewhere around 10 billions per year could moreover be borne if we raised our national income to its former figure of around 85 billions. Our present crushing debt burden is therefore the result of the depression, and not necessarily of the long-time movements which Mr. Scott emphasizes.

But if the Technocrats over-emphasize technological unemployment and the debt burden, they ignore certain other weaknesses in capitalism such as: (1) the tendency to over-develop capital facilities; (2) the way in which a fall in prices decreases the value of inventories and leads business men to contract their operations, and thus, by creating unemployment, cumu-

latively reduces the purchasing power of the workers; (3) the fact that a decline in the rate of growth of consumers' goods, and still more an actual decrease in the quantity turned out of those goods, inevitably causes an even more pronounced decrease in the demand for and the production of producers' goods, such as iron, steel, copper, and machinery; and (4) the way in which a contraction of credit by a few banks leads to a withdrawal of deposits from the other banks and hence to a cumulative contraction of loans and deposits which causes prices to fall and enterprise to be dampened. These and other factors lead to periodic breakdowns of capitalism, and while a managed system of currency and banking might be able to check them, there is little indication that the bankers and financiers who now dominate American industry would be willing to have their authority curbed or regulated in any such fashion.

**T**HE Technocrats, moreover, under-emphasize the great practical and theoretical difficulties which would be attendant upon the use of "energy prices." It would be an extraordinarily difficult thing to compute the number of units of energy which went into the production of an article, since this would necessarily involve calculating the energy imparted by or contained in raw materials, the human labor applied, the mechanical energy used, the amount of energy in the machinery, buildings, etc. which was thus used up and the energy involved in distributing the product. Particularly difficult would be the evaluation of services. How much energy, for example, would be involved in a surgical operation, the extraction of a tooth, the playing of a Beethoven concerto, the delivery of a lecture?

Finally, it should be emphasized that the owners of industry will not willingly yield their power to the Technocrats. Even though they are making a mess of things, they will not voluntarily cede their place. Technocracy is, therefore, as utopian as the theories of Owen and Fourier unless it outlines and utilizes a mechanics of power which will enable it to put even some of its ideas into effect. Thorstein Veblen, who undoubtedly played a formative part in the early days of Technocracy, although how deep his influence was will not be known until his correspondence with Howard Scott is published, was under no illusions on this score. As he pointed out in his *Engineers and the Price System*, it is necessary to combine the engineers with the labor movement before any real and fundamental change can be made. We should be grateful for any aid which the Technocrats may bring towards the more efficient administration of industry, but we should never forget that the paramount task before us is the acquisition of political and economic power. Along with the necessary working out of detailed policies, that aim should never be ignored, since it is absolutely basic to any real forward movement.



# Buchmanism—An Escape

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

THE elaborately organized campaigns which the Oxford Group Movement has been making in Toronto, Detroit and New York and is soon to make in other cities seem to indicate that the group is being stirred to establish itself as a dominant feature in American church life. The Toronto campaign rivaled Technocracy in the news, which is about the ultimate tribute of publicity that can be paid these days. Dr. Samuel Shoemaker's sermon in his own pulpit in Calvary Church, New York, on Christmas Sunday, vigorously demanded that the church at large adopt the movement and further it. If such be the purpose, the leaders can have no reasonable objection if the fitness of the Oxford Group's message and methods for a place of major emphasis in American religious life be given a closer critical scrutiny than they have usually received.

During the 12 years or so in which the movement retained the name "Buchmanism," after its founder, and was conducted quietly and without any of the aspects of a public "drive," the general attitude toward it was, rightly, one of sympathetic interest. Now the name of Buchman has been dropped for the more glamorous term, "Oxford Group," with its suggestion of former notable Oxford movements led by John Henry Newman and John Wesley. Indeed, to call it "Buchmanism" today is to many members of the group not only a social error, but little short of an insult. But an attitude of uninformed and rather sentimental Godspeed is no longer adequate toward a movement of its growing ambitions and pretensions. A critical scrutiny, however, even though mixed with appreciation, will not be welcomed by many of the group. In their resentment of criticism some of the members rival the Christian Scientists.

The "message" of the movement stresses four standards: "absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love." Humility, apparently, is not insisted upon. Nor does it make its appearance to any extreme degree. Attendants at the "house parties" frequently hear the assertion that intellectual difficulties are simply a screen for moral faults, or at least, for moral turmoil or maladjustment. In like manner criticisms of the movement, on religious or ethical grounds, have often met with the retort that the one who makes them is not spiritually minded, that he is opposing God's will, or even that he is led to criticize because he is harboring some secret sin.

The usual attitude of the clergy toward the movement has been that it has great religious values and

that it emphasizes deep religious truth, which, of course, is obvious to anyone who believes in Christianity at all. To the central concept of the movement, as set forth by A. J. Russel in *For Sinners Only*, a book which clearly is approved by Dr. Buchman, that "the primary work of the church is the remaking of the lives of individuals, through the power of the living Christ," no one who accepts the Christian revelation could give anything but his whole-hearted assent. No one who has the slightest acquaintance with the movement could question the number of remarkable conversions, of changed lives, which have taken place through contact with the group. I have had the privilege of knowing many who have experienced such spiritual impetus and religious quickening. But such grateful and enthusiastic recognition does not commit one to regard as a spiritual benefit the growth of the movement to any considerable importance or its general adoption as the characteristic feature of American religious activity.

NOT without serious examination and thought, nor without deep reluctance do I say that I should view such a general adoption of the Oxford Group Movement as a religious calamity of the first order. My contention of the utter unfitness of the message and emphasis of the movement as an adequate expression of Christianity in this day of extreme need is not made from the ethical or economic point of view, but on distinctly religious grounds. The Oxford Group Movement is an extremely partial, fragmentary and superficial presentation of Christianity, inadequate in its conception of two crucial fundamentals of the Christian message, God and Sin; inadequate also in that it lacks any expressed understanding of the profound meaning of the cross. The picture of God presented again and again in *For Sinners Only* is not so much a Father as a solicitous Grandfather. In place of the moral majesty of the God of Jesus, the emphasis on guidance in the most inconsequential details of etiquette and daily program expresses a conception of a deity almost completely absorbed in sending down hourly directions to his favorites. One of the inner circle of the group leaders once exclaimed on God's goodness in removing the clouds from a mountain in India on the only occasion that Dr. Buchman would have to see it! Many other instances of "guidance" are on a spiritual par with that example. Of course, in the whole matter of guidance there is a quite inadequate psychology in ascribing to divine intervention



most any idea the origin of which in association of ideas cannot be traced. But that is not the point to be stressed here, but rather the far more important one that a God absorbed in details of individual procedure and feeling is considerably less than the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of redemptive love for the whole world.

THE Oxford Group has much to say of sins. But its idea of sin, as far as can be gathered from any expression or emphasis, is nothing less than a caricature of the profound conception of sin to be found in the New Testament. There is evident neither any understanding of atonement nor of the social nature of sin in such a complicated human network as men are involved in today. The deep and crucial issue of the forgiveness of sin, so central in historic Christianity, seems to be easily taken care of by a "wash out," a glib and jaunty substitute for the august religious conception of the forgiveness of sin found in the New Testament. Confession to human hearers seems to get all the emphasis, and converts are told that "it is not nearly as hard as it seems." It is not as hard an experience as forgiveness in the New Testament, certainly! The sins confessed are often merely peccadillos, imperfect sympathies, unkind thoughts, pride and temper. Or they are individual sexual sins. The sensitive consciousness of the grievous burden arising from the sense of participation in the social brutalities and cruelties of our civilization, that conscience without which Christianity today is only a moral mockery, is absent from the emphasis of the movement. That sense of social involvement in sin can never be absent from any adequate Christian experience. We look in vain, also, for any adequate expression of what P. T. Forsyth called "the cruciality of the Cross"—both as the reception of God's sacrifice for sin and as an accepted law of thorough-going sacrificial living.

The self-centered absorption in subjectivism is also less than a full Christian attitude. The group has turned inward to an unhealthy degree. Here again is an affinity to Christian Science. Dean W. L. Sperry in his *Yes, But*—has made the acute observation that a primary need of religion today is "a new outward-mindedness." He greets, as religious assets of the greatest worth, present tendencies "of the unforsworn human spirit to move away from the world within toward the world without." He recommends astronomy for the theological seminary curriculum as making for necessary objectivity. It is just this "objectivity" which vital religion needs that is so conspicuously lacking in the Oxford Group.

One great danger today to a revolutionary religion, in the New Testament sense, comes from the fact that the Oxford Group Movement presents a most alluring avenue of evasion of the whole enterprise of

building a Christ-like world, a Kingdom of God visible at the present time. Place alongside the emphasis of this movement that stirring declaration of faith adopted at the Jerusalem Missionary Conference in 1928: "We believe in a Christ-like world. We know of nothing better; we can be content with nothing less." The distance between the two is literally measureless. It is far easier and less dangerous to center one's effort on individual piety than it is to carry the message of Christ out to the moral frontiers of our time. There is danger that some may use the movement as an escape from the tasks of a Christian witness against the paganism of our present order. There are many in the pulpit who are pathetically like the crowd gathered around the pool of Bethesda, "waiting for the water to bubble," waiting for some new movement, some fresh craze, feeling that they can plunge into that and find a new access of interest and strength. If in these days of appalling need for the proclamation of a gospel of redemption for the whole of life and a whole social order of life a considerable section of the church should retreat from that task in the absorption in individual piety, it would be a disastrous betrayal of Christian responsibility.

It is no answer to such a criticism to say lightly, with a touch of disdain, as many of the group do: "Oh, I see, you're talking about economics. This is religion." That is exactly where the group is lacking, from a completely Christian point of view. It is not the revolutionary religion that Christianity is, and lacks the will to seize and overturn a life so completely that sharing becomes not a parlor conversation but a willingness to share the privileges, wealth and power which our whole order has created. The group has shown no trace of a Christian ethical realism, which sees the causes and results of entrenched anti-Christian codes in our way of life.

To imagine that an "evening dress evangelism" which talks easily of "changed lives" to groups of the rich and comfortable, with the shades pulled down on those social maladjustments which condition the spiritual life of millions is an adequate evangelism for our times, is vanity. The pivotal question is, What does the "changed life" mean? Is it a change to a thoroughgoing spirit of love, honest enough and deep enough to question in the name and spirit of Christ the whole code of a profit-driven society? For it must not be forgotten that religion which gives comfort without rebuke may be one of the most immoral things in the world.

There is much talk in the group meetings of "luminous thoughts." If the "luminous thought" of a Kingdom of God on earth, of love built into a whole order of life, even at the price of Calvaries, were added to their present ruling concepts, it would be an equipment for providential service at the present time.





# Not in the

## Gott Mit Uns

The Japanese General Honjo, discussing the Manchurian situation, declared that God is with the Japanese cause. "Where justice and humanity direct, the Heavens lend their hands; where the Imperial light reaches out, there have been no mistakes. Our path has happily joined with these 31,000,000 people who, while insulted and injured, did not choose the wrong path, while Manchurian leaders, in their eagerness to fulfill the trust of the people, founded a new state. When the whole force of elements leads in one direction, none can thwart its course. It is the force of nature."

## Transport of Arms

In Argentina the railroad labor unions have notified the government that in case of a war between Bolivia and Paraguay the railroad workers would refuse to transport munitions and food to the warring nations.

## The R.F.C. Pay-roll

The pay-roll of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation runs well over \$1,500,000 a year. Unhampered by civil service regulations, the corporation directors pay whatever they please for expert assistance. Ten officials are paid \$12,000 a year or more; 118 receive more than \$4,800 a year.

## Foiling the Militarists

The French militarists planned a huge air demonstration for Rheims on the night of August 26, 1932. The city was to be "bombarded" from nine o'clock in the evening to two in the morning. Orders were given to extinguish all street lights, as well as auto, street car, and advertising lights. The curtains were to be drawn in all houses to insure perfect darkness. But the populace did not like the idea. A strong resentment against the war measures developed, and a movement was begun to spoil the show. All lights were left burning, even the street lights for a time. Thousands of people gathered in the public square and demonstrated against the maneuvers. The officials cleared the streets and tried to go ahead with their schedule after hours of delay. Suddenly a fire began near the railroad station which illuminated this strategically important place. It took till one o'clock to extinguish the blaze. By that time the air maneuvers were spoiled.

## Suicide Epidemic

The world is suffering from a suicide epidemic. In Berlin, 181 persons killed themselves in a month. In Germany, 18,000 committed suicide in 1931, almost 50 a day. London has a suicide rate of eight in a million; Chicago's rate is 141 per million.

## Social Insurance

Nearly \$40,000,000 were paid in benefits by the national and international trade unions of the United States and Canada in 1931, an increase of over \$3,000,000 over 1930. The various forms of benefit included sickness, death, unemployment, old age and disability.

## Doak's Triumph

Immigration to the U. S. reached the lowest point on June 30, 1932, since 1831, and deportations reached a new peak. In 1831, 22,633 immigrants entered the U. S. The peak year was 1907 with 1,285,349 entrants. In 1931-1932 immigrants totaled 25,576 while deportations numbered 19,426. About one-third, 10,098, of the immigrants came from Canada and Mexico, 7,762 from northern and western Europe, and 12,817 from southern and eastern Europe.

## A Public Coal Mine

The little town of Beverly, Alberta, Canada, has virtually a municipal coal mine. When the land was sold on which Beverly was built, the mineral rights were not reserved. A public-spirited citizen secured the mineral rights and made them over to the town. The coal is mined by a private company, but the royalties are paid to the town and help to lower taxes and make municipal improvements.

## Russia's Progress

Along with the failure of the Five Year Plan to achieve all that was set as a goal, and the poor distribution and production of foodstuffs, must be placed, for fairness, remarkable technical gains in certain industries. For example, in 1913, 654 locomotives and 14,832 railroad cars were produced, as against 970 and 20,023 in 1931. In 1924 only 20 automobiles were produced; in 1928, 879; in 1930, 8,523; and in 1931, 20,501. Tractor production has jumped from two in 1923 to 874 in 1927 and 12,727 in 1930, to 39,879 in 1931. Railway tracks constructed in 1913 covered 58,500 kilometres; in 1930, 79,900 km., and in 1931, 80,000 km. Freight transportation, which was only 132,000,000 tons in 1913, reached 187,627,000 tons in 1929 and 254,900,000 tons in 1931.

## Decline of Fascist Trade Unions

According to official Italian figures, the membership of the Fascist trade unions fell from 1,163,472 to 1,040,087 employers and from 3,732,930 to 2,413,866 employed, between January 1 and July 1, 1932.

## Oil Co-op Pays

Total sales in 1932 of the Coöperative Oil Association of Cumberland, Wisconsin, amounted to more than \$50,000, according to Auditor Egan of the Northern States Coöperative League. Net earnings were placed at \$7,425.64, most of which will be paid out as patronage dividends at the rate of 15 cents on the dollar of purchase!

## Norris Heads 30-Hour Committee

Chairman Norris of the Senate Judiciary Committee will head the sub-committee which will soon start hearings on Senator Black's bill which forbids interstate shipment of goods produced where labor is employed more than six hours a day or five days a week. Other members of the sub-committee are Senators Borah, Robinson of Indiana, Black of Alabama and Walsh of Montana.

## The Sacred Flag

In Rochester, N. Y., a man was arrested for failure to doff his hat to the flag in an Armistice Day parade. The arrest was caused by the Rev. A. O. Sykes, chaplain of the State Industrial School, who carries a deputy sheriff's badge. The "criminal" was immediately released, because the police sergeant ruled that "they can't hold a man for that."

## Slave Trade Today

Within a few years there have been 140 slave raids from Abyssinia into the Sudan. In one district under British administration it costs \$200,000 a year to patrol the frontier and prevent Abyssinian raiders from destroying villages and carrying off the inhabitants to be sold in the slave markets.

## Absent Without Cause

The Educational Screen has just published its ninth edition of non-theatrical films, called *1000 and One*. It lists 111 pages of educational films enormously useful for schools. Under the heading "War-Naval and Military" there are 27 films. There is no heading "Peace" or "Pacifism," nor are there apparently any films on this subject listed.



# Headlines

## "Honor Thy Father"

The California Taxpayers' Association has demanded that the small California pension for the aged be cut in half and that the age limit be raised from 70 to 75. Although the maximum is only \$30 a month, the average pension paid to 11,000 aged persons is \$28. Only residents of the state for 15 years or more are eligible, and half is paid by the state, half by the county. The total cost of old age pensions in San Francisco for a year is approximately \$163,000—just about half of the sum the supervisors recently voted, with the approval of the Taxpayers' Association, for erection of a livestock pavilion.

## Socialist Gains in Pennsylvania

The Socialist Party has increased its vote about 600 per cent in Pennsylvania over that of 1928. In some sections of steel workers the Socialist vote gained 1000 per cent.

## Catalonian Pacifists

With the new autonomy granted to Catalonia, the War Resisters' International reports extraordinary activity among its affiliated groups, as well as sympathy from President Macia, who has promised to convert all war-producing machinery into civil production, and to concentrate upon the education of the people instead of on military preparedness.

## Texas Patrioteers

Maco Stewart, wealthy and reactionary Texas lawyer, is trying to save Texas. He denounced the Texas Free Speech Committee as Communistic. He charged that the University of Texas is over-run by radicals. H. G. Wells is denounced as a "dangerous man." Einstein is "press-agented by Stalin money to preach the doctrine of overthrow of every capitalist government." Stewart is endeavoring to have a criminal syndicalism bill passed in Texas. He has the support of the D. A. R.

## Free Textbook Movement Gains

The supplying of free textbooks in public schools is now mandatory in 23 States and the District of Columbia. This represents considerable progress in the movement in view of the fact that Massachusetts, pioneer in State participation in public education, passed the first free textbook law only in 1884. In 22 other States local school boards are authorized to provide free textbooks and in other States public aid in the matter of textbooks is authorized for dependent children.

## Britain—War Salesman

The British weekly, *Time and Tide*, declares that Great Britain supplies one-third of all the world's war materials.

## One Way to Balance

By cutting wages of all city and county employees earning \$600 or more a year, the Philadelphia City Council balanced its budget. The cuts ranged as high as 22 per cent.

## Service at Cost

In Norway the railroads, telegraphs and telephones and electric plants are run to serve the people at cost; one hospital with 3,000 beds gives service, including surgical treatment, at 50 cents a day; there are no slums.

## Hitler's Campaign Funds

Hitler has asked the Hamburg courts to forbid the *Hamburger Echo* to repeat its charge that part of his campaign funds were derived from the international munitions manufacturers. The court demanded that Hitler prove that he had not received such funds. The court is still waiting for his reply.

## New Paper by Unemployed

*The New Frontier*, a four-page tabloid published fortnightly by the Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment, is the latest radical paper in Chicago. It carries news of activities for unemployed in the city and in other localities where the Federation of Unemployed Workers' Leagues of America is functioning. Karl Borders of the Chicago committee is temporary chairman of the federation. *The New Frontier* is edited by Robert Asher and John Paul Jones.

## Socialists and Labor

Aiming to coördinate Socialist activities in the industrial field, the Socialist national executive committee has chosen Leo Krzycki, member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' executive board, as chairman of a committee on relations to labor. Associated with Krzycki will be James D. Graham, president of the Montana Federation of Labor; Powers Hapgood, formerly organizer for the United Mine Workers; James H. Maurer, who for 16 years was president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; and Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. The committee will be in charge of work in organizing the unemployed, forming strike relief machinery, assisting in strikes, and supplying information to the party on industrial situations.

## Co-ops and Chain Stores

That coöperatives, contrary to popular impression, really can compete successfully with chain stores, was recently asserted by Oscar Cooley, secretary of the Coöperative League, in an interview with the Federated Press. "They can," said Mr. Cooley, "because they do. There are chain stores everywhere, so wherever you find a coöperative store you find it in competition with chains. Of the 101 store societies affiliated with the Central Coöperative Wholesale of Superior, Wisconsin, none has failed because of chain store competition; the movement is steadily growing."

## Regulation That Does Not Regulate

How the regulation of public utilities by states frequently works is disclosed by the Federal Trade Commission. The Huntington Gas Company, a subsidiary of the Columbia Gas and Electric group, purchased gas at an average cost of 26.2 cents per 1,000 cubic feet during the years 1928-1930. It resold this gas to its own affiliates, such as the Union Gas and Electric Company and the Union Light Heat and Power Company at 45 cents per 1,000 cubic feet. This price then became the base on which the rate to consumers was fixed. At the same time the Huntington Gas Company was selling gas to a non-utility company at 18 cents per 1,000 cubic feet.

## Workers' Health Clinic

The general executive board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has recommended an annual tax of 50 cents a member for the maintenance and expansion of the Union Health Centre. The Centre, consisting of medical and dental clinics, was organized 19 years ago for the benefit of garment workers only, but now has affiliated with it 39 other trade unions.

## Polish Unemployed

Acting on the recommendations of its unemployment commission, the government of Poland has recently decreed the establishment of a special unemployment relief fund. The objects of the institution are provision of relief for the jobless and the collection and distribution of various articles to aid this purpose. Activities of public and private relief agencies will be coördinated, and projects to create jobs will be launched. The fund for relief will be financed out of special taxation, added to the taxes on railways, telephones, and radio, consisting mainly of sales taxes on a few commodities and upon entertainments.



# Socialize the Land

H. J. VOORHIS

**M**OST radical thinkers are highly receptive to the impulses, needs, desires, and viewpoint of the urban working class, but fail to be in anything like the same degree responsive to the welfare of the rural workers. Imagine, for example, a radical paper running an article which said something like this: "The machine is here to stay. It has replaced millions of workers and will continue to replace millions more. It has therefore rendered labor a very plentiful and cheap economic asset. We may not like it very well but, after all, even though there may be sporadic protests from the workers there is nothing much that can be done for them or that they can do except to take their medicine." Does strict economic determinism tend to exclude such humanly devised agencies as the trade union, legislation protective of the workers' standards of living, or socialization of industry? Surely not. No radical thinker would for a moment suggest that we should lie down before the "facts" of the situation so far as city workers are concerned and admit that these "facts" had "got us down." On the contrary, the radical thinker is inclined to take the position that some things are *intolerable* precisely because they run so definitely counter to the very minimum of the standards, desires, and aspirations of the workers' lives.

We do not hesitate to advocate the nationalization of industry and the democratic management thereof by the workers and in their interests. Why then should we hesitate to advocate with equal vehemence the nationalization of land and the democratic management of agriculture by the farmers and in their own interests? As a matter of fact, a large part of the farmers' present difficulty is due directly to the *burdens of land ownership* and the corollary implication that the individual farmer must fight a battle single-handed with organized city capitalism. Half the farmers of America are tenants today. Their tenure would be far less burdensome if the state, and through the state the farmers themselves, became the landlord. And those farmers who are not now tenants are burdened with debt that runs on the average about \$1,500 per farm. Anyone who knows anything about farm operations at all knows that \$90 cash interest per year is a sum which only a handful of farmers can see any hope of meeting. They too, then, would welcome a lifting of this burden of debt, even if it implied the substitution of long term leases from the state for outright land ownership.

If the land were public property, cash taxes would

be an impossibility. Rentals collected in the form of a portion of the crops could easily be paid. Such rental payments fit in exactly with the present situation of abundant production. Under such a system the indebtedness of farmers could also be liquidated because a mortgage against property that could not be foreclosed would be no mortgage at all, and in exchange for the transfer of title to the state, the state would in turn naturally assume responsibility for the discharge of indebtedness upon the land. This could be accomplished by giving to the holders of mortgages credits good for the payment of stipulated amounts of crop rental. Such certificates would be of value only to working farmers, and holders of mortgages would therefore be forced to dispose of them to working farmers at reduced figures.

Finally there is the question of prices. World prices of agricultural products are low. So are world prices for labor. But this does not mean that the food produced by farmers is not socially very valuable any more than saying that the machine has rendered labor "cheap" means that labor exerted in conjunction with machinery is not of tremendous social value. Regulation of farm prices by a governmental marketing organization is as feasible and as necessary as the fixing of the wages of city workers at a level which corresponds to a real living wage. Moreover, with nationalization of land, government control of marketing, and a system of contracting to buy from farmers' coöperative organizations stipulated amounts of staple crops before those crops are ever put in the ground, it is not unreasonable to suppose that agricultural production could be so planned and regulated that the reduction of waste would make it possible to meet world competition and still leave the farmer a profit.

The American farmer is no more doomed than he and his radical champions are willing to let him be doomed. Coöperate he must. Regional coöperative associations he must join as a condition of enjoying the benefits of sale of his crop to the government marketing agency. Planned production he will have to accept. The title to land with all the burdens incident thereto he must relinquish. But his case is not hopeless. And there can be left room for the family farm to survive and for the production of things needed by the farm family for its own use to continue side by side with the production of regularly contracted amounts of staples, most of which will be bought by the government and a part of which will be delivered to it in payment of land rental.



# The South River Tragedy

RICHARD B. BEAMAN

**"T**HREE girls, one boy—but they get the boy." The speaker was Mr. Rojeck, of South River, New Jersey. On September 19, 1932, his nine-year-old son was playing on the sidewalk not far from a labor-police battle. Suddenly there was a shot: the lad's play was stopped forever.

The Rojeck death, however, is only an incident of a larger tragedy. He played in a town where life is a battle between the property owners and the Hungarian, Polish and Russian workers. Until lately the men of South River have been employed in two brick factories, now closed. Their wives and daughters, however, work in dress factories, where they receive as little as two and three dollars per week for their labor. Mrs. Rojeck and her daughter, for example, together can make 30 dresses per day, for which they get only 14 cents per dress. And these are the dresses which retail in New York for \$2.85! To add to the workers' burden, one factory owner charged his workers for the electricity they used in pressing the finished dresses, while still other operators issued checks and required the workers to pay the check tax.

The first result of these conditions was a strike, which unfortunately was not general and resulted in considerable conflict between strikers and scabs. On September 17 this striker-scab friction kindled into a fire which blazed with augmented fury as soon as the police came. Tantalizing, provoking signs were placed in the windows of a factory still operating. A crowd gathered to express their indignation. At first there was turmoil, but no damage of any sort was done. Then somebody became frightened and called the police. These worthy "upholders of law and order" succeeded in making matters worse. When a woman jumped on the running board of their car they became frightened enough to hurl tear gas bombs. Could they have expected thus to soothe anger? The crowd responded with its only weapons—bricks and stones. After the police had retreated the factory became the target. The strike was finally settled, partly by the efforts of an arbitrator, partly because the workers and their families, forced to the wall, were too hungry to hold out further.

With this settlement, however, new trouble came to South River. The unpopular mayor, though lacking an appropriation from the town council, hired a group of detectives from Newark at an expense of \$1,300. To many citizens of South River this action of the mayor was a last straw. Outside police are never popular. Add to that consideration the extra expense of

the hired detectives and the obvious political racketeering involved, and one can understand the citizens' indignation. With an increased police force, wedded to its belief in the efficacy of violence, the stage was set for tragedy.

On returning to work on the morning of September 19, the women found these strange deputies with a few local police gathered about the shop doors. Becoming suspicious, the women refused to enter. In a short time groups formed. Casting nothing more harmful than jibes, the women advanced on the deputies. Ordered to stand back, the crowd pressed forward. Now the deputies, paid to establish "law and order", became thoroughly frightened. Pistols were fired, though for the most part into the air.

When the smoke from the first volley lifted, one old man complained of a bullet lodged in his arm, a boy had stopped another with his leg, and over behind the crowd, a block and a half away, lay little Rojeck with a bullet in his head.

The crowd had begun to retire, but there before them was the boy. No, police violence did not create peace! Infuriated at the sight of the boy's body, the crowd substituted bricks for jibes, routed the deputies and pursued them all the way to the borough hall. Here they kept the deputies prisoners until the state police arrived at ten o'clock that night. Feeling that the deputies would be arrested, the crowd finally dispersed amicably. Indeed a few deputies were arrested, perhaps to secure their safety, but they were soon released.

On the following day some 32 citizens were hailed into court on a total of 15 charges. Of these people we know that six have been sentenced and four acquitted. What about the murder? The police are simply not interested in any investigation. There will be none unless citizens' groups demand it!

The police may be able to prove that the killing bullet did not come from their guns. But the real tragedy is not the murder. In the last analysis the tragedy is the economic order which seeks peace through violence and which compels willing, healthy men to go without work. We have not brought justice to South River when we find the murderer of the boy, though this is the least that might be done. The cause of the death was the riot, and of the riot, police stupidity. But with their stupidity is ours in that we will not see South River in our own various cities, and dare not acknowledge, even to ourselves, that radical evils demand radical reforms.





# The Book End

*With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

## Storm Over Asia

*Storm Over Asia.* By Paul Hutchinson. Henry Holt and Company. 310 pages. \$3.00.

MR. HUTCHINSON has done an excellent piece of journalistic sketching in of the storm which unquestionably hangs menacingly over Asia. For one who wants a bird's-eye and—in its main outlines, though unfortunately not in a number of its details and interpretations—accurate view of what is happening, the book is well worth running through. It is a big improvement, too, over some of the books which the presses have hurried into print to meet the demand created by the Japanese military moves in Manchuria a year and a quarter ago.

Mr. Hutchinson begins with an introductory chapter on Asia as a whole, and then takes up the situation in Japan, China, India and Russia—the last in relation to the Far East. He analyzes the conflict between the commercial and military elements in Japan, the reasons for the Chinese and worldwide suspicion of Japan's motives, and the possibility of a breakdown of the present military domination because of the costliness of the Manchurian venture and the blunder at Shanghai—a possibility which he correctly regards as by no means remote. He deals with the confusion in China, the course which Japan has followed with her neighbor, and the grave menace of what he calls the desperation to which the farmers, the industrial workers and the businessmen of the country have been reduced. The revolt in India is discussed and Gandhi's part in keeping it non-violent, as well as the development of that strange anomaly of national feeling in a land so deeply cut up by religious, caste, linguistic and racial differences. Russian expansion into the East under the Tsars, and the Soviet return to the field in a new role of friend of the oppressed peoples also are considered.

As a rough sketch, the book is worth while. It would have been considerably improved, however, if Mr. Hutchinson had given more attention to the historical background of the present troubles. He utterly neglects, except for a brief sentence or two, everything that was done before the last decade of the nineteenth century—even though the roots of this present trouble go down into the past at least four centuries, to the time when the modern Europeans first went out to the East and began to force themselves in where they were not wanted. In this fault of sketchy "journalism", however, Mr. Hutchinson, of course, has much company.

He has company too in the other important fault of the book: the tendency to look at everything Eastern from a Western angle and to conclude that because things in the East do not follow Western patterns they are in hopeless confusion. He speaks with some emphasis, for example, of the "disintegration" in China. Politically, it is true, the disintegration is great; a similar collapse of the political machinery in any Western country would

mean utter chaos in every range of activity. In China, however, it doesn't.

The foolish hope that the millenium would arrive overnight when the Republic was established, or when the nationalists got into nominal control, have, of course, been disappointed. But without minimizing the disorganization, one may be permitted to point out what Mr. Hutchinson and many others completely ignore, that there also is a good deal of reorganization going on. Beside the headlines of political confusion it is well, for example, to set the facts that the students in purely Chinese schools increased in number, between 1920 and 1930, from 6,000,000 to over 20,000,000; that the mileage of purely Chinese railways increased 2,360 miles or 175 per cent between 1912 and 1930, while that of the lines in which there was a foreign interest increased 2,590 miles or only 56 per cent; that the capital of the modern-style Chinese banks increased from \$28,880,000 in 1912 to \$114,712,000 in 1930, a 39 per cent increase; while that of the foreign banks with headquarters in China increased from \$10,076,000 to \$21,653,000 or 115 per cent during the same period.

Mr. Hutchinson, too, seems to have made what apparently has become the standardized though incorrect interpretation of the relations between Borodin and the Soviet Russians and the Nationalists. To judge from this book, one would conclude that the moderates among the Nationalists were little more than naïve children whom the wily Borodin used for Soviet ends until they fell under the influence of the Shanghai bankers and, dazzled by the desire to get a friendly pat on the head from the foreigners, broke with the Soviet agents. The fact of the matter was that the Nationalists were looking for someone to help them, and turned to the Russians only after they had been rejected by everyone else. In the developments of the years 1923-27 each side in the strange temporary alliance between the moderate Nationalists and the Soviet agents was quite frankly and avowedly using the other to aid in advancing its own ends, and each planned to turn against the other and get control of the entire movement just as soon as the Nationalist armies had reached Shanghai—for only then could the military advance be put on a secure foundation. The ones who turned out to be the naïve and inept partners in the scheme were the Russians, not the Chinese.

One overlooks the opportunity to comment on other less important misinterpretations, relating to Chinese, Japanese and Russian activities in Manchuria, because the book is excellently written and does emphasize the seriousness of the situation in Asia. And even if it falls considerably short of being what the jacket calls it—"A complete and authoritative survey of the situation in the Orient"—it is well worth having among the volumes dealing with the state of affairs in that part of the world, though serious students of the situation will not need to spend time on it.

GROVER CLARK



## In a Gentler Mood

*Education and the Modern World.* By Bertrand Russell. W. W. Norton and Co. \$2.50.

MR. BERTRAND RUSSELL, who was once a mathematician, logician and philosopher, has in late years become a kind of village sage who writes with dry humor and dispassionate detachment on all manner of interests, of which education and politics are still the most dominant. His style, which in his *Free Man's Worship* revealed a kind of dignity and exaltation, suitable to his tragic mood in those earlier years, has become matter-of-fact and very cool.

His new book does not contain anything particularly new. His educational theories have not changed to any appreciable degree. He is still trying to find an educational program which will emancipate the child from the superstitions of the past and give him the self-reliance and inquisitiveness to deal in a spirit of independence with the problems of the contemporary world. His educational theories are rooted in a liberalism which he has abandoned in the field of politics. This presents him with some difficulties, which are particularly apparent in his chapter on education in Russia. He solves the dilemma in this fashion:

The world is more rich and varied than the Marxian formula. A generation confined within the philosophy of "Das Kapital" may be useful, happy and formidable but it cannot be wise, and can not know that it is not; intellectually it will be cocksure and shallow. But in saying this I am speaking from the standpoint of philosophy, not politics. From the standpoint of politics I think our verdict would be different.

The mixture of sympathy and criticism with which he analyses the Russian situation reveals the conflict in his thought between his liberal educational ideal and his radical political program; but it is also typical of the cool objectivity which characterizes all his judgments upon movements and events in these latter days. Even his criticisms of religion have lost some of their previous bitterness. Mr. Russell must be growing into a genial, disillusioned, wise and humorous old gentleman. His social passions are still strong, but they do not move him to write either the tragic prose poetry of two decades ago or the bitter invectives of a decade past. He simply observes the foibles of his fellowmen in a spirit of disillusioned patience and records his judgments with a humor which has lost in acridity and gained in urbanity.

R. N.

## English (?) Communism

*The Necessity of Communism.* By J. Middleton Murry. Jonathan Cape, London. 136 pages. 75 cents.

IT is the contention of J. Middleton Murry, well-known English writer, who is remembered chiefly in America for his brilliant and stimulating *Life of Jesus*, that capitalism has failed and is breaking down because of the contradiction inherent and inevitable in its loose competitive individualism which pits one class against another, and that "Communism in some form is inevitable" in Great Britain. He believes that Russian communism is impossible there, for "the Englishman is too decent to allow such inhuman horrors to be perpetrated." He quotes from a report of a conference of prison authorities in the U. S. S. R. to show that while the "murderer with violence" is to be reformed, the Soviet government "repudiates as a political error attempts to reform class enemies." These must be worked to death and exterminated.

Mr. Murry believes that "the only remedy against Russian communism is English communism," which may be humane, and that the British Labor Party, which has been too parasitic and bourgeois, must become thoroughly Marxian. "If men will not submit to a revolution in themselves (to become unselfish, disinterested and coöperative) they will be forced to undergo a revolution that is inevitable in the outward world." There must be "a complete economic change, the complete extirpation of the system of individualistic capitalism." But class warfare, which he says is inevitable, must be prevented from becoming destructive class hatred. "The Communist Manifesto of Marx is the summons to the modern world to repent." Mr. Murry quotes the preface written by Engels to the English translation of *Das Kapital* that Marx's "study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means."

When the writer asked one of the leading Communist officials in Moscow what he thought of such a suggestion, he only smiled and said: "Can they? Is it possible? Has there ever yet been such a 'humane' revolution in history under such conditions?" Soviet Russia at least does not believe it possible.

SHERWOOD EDDY

## Dixie's Liberals

*Liberalism in the South.* By Virginius Dabney. The University of North Carolina Press. \$3.50.

IN 428 brief pages Mr. Dabney sketches for us what is really an epic of the intellectual life of his native section. Dispassionately and with admirable insight he unrolls the long story of the Southern struggle for liberty, beginning with Patrick Henry and coming down to Frank P. Graham, Will W. Alexander and the year of the Scottsboro boys, 1932. He keeps back nothing of consequence. The shames as well as the glories of the region are alike revealed. He sets forth the tales of the Ku Klux Klan, Fundamentalism rampant, the Elizabethton strike and Ma Ferguson as frankly as he tells of Woodrow Wilson and the Commission on Interracial Coöperation. This is logical indeed, for without the stage of conservatism there would be little opportunity for one to play the role of the liberal. Yet not every historian would describe the stage which is his intellectual background with such engaging frankness and detail.

In every era of Southern life, it appears, even in the days of Calhoun and the hard, lean years after the Civil War, as well as in the time of Jefferson and the modern period, there has been a stout little company, militant for liberalism in religion, politics, education and economic and social relations. Every considerable evil in the South has called forth native sons and daughters to challenge and wage war against it and its conservative supporters. Valiant fighters have they been, though often crushed and rarely notably successful in their own day against the weight of ignorant and inert masses, led by demagogues and fanatics.

Though the Southern record with respect to liberalism is not notable, if we measure it by the ideal, it is a far better record than most Americans realize, especially when account is taken of the handicaps under which the section has labored. What more could one ask of a college chancellor of half a century ago than the incisive words, "Men never amount to much until they outgrow their father's notions, sir!" Or where could one seek for greater courage and liberalism than that displayed by the faculty of Trinity College in 1903? A colleague was threatened with



removal by the trustees because he had expressed the view that Booker T. Washington was "the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years." Every member advised the president privately that he would resign if the dismissal took place, and president and faculty signed a public statement which declared: "Money, students, friends are not to be weighed in the balance with tolerance, with fairness and with freedom."

This is an admirable book. It is thorough. If any important Southern liberal has escaped Mr. Dabney's net, a study of the index fails to reveal the fact. The work is dispassionate and scholarly, neither boastful nor apologetic. It presents the facts and then either lets them speak for themselves or interprets them justly and simply. We know no better way of getting an insight into the life of the South than to read Dabney's chapters on "The Negro Problem Today", "Darwinism and the New Demonology," and "Labor and Industry in the South."

As we read, it becomes clear that the South is but a province of the United States, sharing its virtues as well as its vices. It is a just warning, then, when at the close of the volume the author remarks: "If the New South has given us Harlan and Gastonia, lynchings and peonage, we should bear in mind that California, where for some years human rights have been in serious dispute, furnished the locale for the Mooney-Billings case; that Massachusetts took the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti; that the atrocities perpetrated by the Pennsylvania coal and iron police are notorious, and that Herrin is in Illinois."

The worst we can say of the book is that at a few points we lose the sweep of the epic struggle, and seem to come upon a kind of biographical dictionary of "non-coms" in the army of liberalism. But in spite of this and a few other minor defects, *Liberalism in the South* is so good that that we commend it both for general reading and as a work of reference.

EDWIN L. CLARKE

## This Week's Anniversary DAVID STARR JORDAN

BORN JANUARY 19, 1851

War is dying. It dies because it cannot pay its way. It dies because, through the spread of education and the demands of commerce, no part of the civilized world can be suffered to engage in a life and death struggle with any other part. . . . As war is now mainly a matter of finance, armies and navies being mere incidents as compared with financial reserves, the bankers still have the last word. No international struggle, accident aside, can break out until they give the signal. In our belief, whatever the apparent provocation of noisy speech or hectoring diplomacy, we shall never see another war among the great nations of Europe. There is too much at stake. . . . And so war is dying, self-slain by the costly weapons science has forged for it, and it now remains for finance to give it a decent and fitting burial.

—From *War and Waste*, published in June, 1913.

## WE RECOMMEND

*Labor Problems and Labor Legislation.* By John B. Andrews. American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 East 23 St., New York City. Paper, 30 cents; cloth, 60 cents. A really exciting book, so well done, so important, so simple, so graphically illustrated with vigorous, revealing charts and illustrations, so adapted to serve the inquiring mind of young people, students, or grown-ups who would like to know just what the labor question is. Probably by far the best introductory work on the subject to use on a prospective convert or on yourself.

*Convicting the Innocent.* By Edwin M. Borchard. Yale University Press. \$3.75. A volume to think of the next time you run up against one of those complacent, cocksure persons who does not believe that in this country innocent people are sent to prison. Professor Borchard, with characteristic balance and thoroughness, has gathered here no fewer than 65 cases of miscarriage of justice, in various parts of the country, documented and presented in detail.

*Heroes of Civilization.* By Joseph Cottler and Haym Jaffe. Little Brown and Co. \$3.00. Books like this ought to be welcomed. They take away the halo from military conquerors and place it upon constructive leaders of civilization. The authors deal with leaders in exploration, pure science, invention, biology and medicine—34 in all. It is written in a manner to interest children and to fascinate adults.

*The Federal Trade Commission.* By Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. Columbia University Press. \$3.00. An examination of the reasons for the high degree of failure on the part of this governmental agency to curb predatory business practices. The author presents an illuminating account of the historic effort to preserve competition as the primary safeguard of the public. One is surprised to find Senator Borah quoted as saying in 1913: "So far as I am concerned, rather than undertake merely to regulate monopoly through commissions, which is about the same thing as to regulate a cancer in the human system, I would prefer to try State Socialism."

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

### Benefit Play for L. I. D.

Elmer Rice, author of "Street Scene," will give a pre-opening performance of his new drama "We the People" for the benefit of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, on Friday, January 20. Tickets, ranging in price from \$1.10 to \$3.30, may be obtained through Miss Rose Shapiro, League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York (Algonquin 4-5865).

### German Pacifist to Lecture Here

DR. WILHELM SOLZBACHER, a leader of the international peace movement in Germany and in the movements for international friendship and disarmament, will arrive in America late in January for a brief visit and lecture tour. He will be available for engagements in the Middle West from January 25 through the middle of February, and in the East during the latter part of February and early March. American groups



interested in the cause of peace, as well as in the current events of Europe, are invited to obtain more information concerning Dr. Solzbacher's plans from the Adult Education Council of Chicago, 224 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

## Study Tour Through Europe

THE American Peoples College in Europe has scheduled three international relations study tours through Europe in 1933. The international problems that beset the world are studied at first hand by field trips through France, Germany and England and by study at Geneva and at the American Peoples College in the Austrian Tyrol, where outstanding European leaders come to speak. The college is backed by leading American educators, including Dr. John Dewey, Dr. George S. Counts and Dr. Harry Overstreet. Owing to the educational and non-profit making nature of the tours, the three months trip can be taken for \$378 and the nine and a half weeks tour for \$349, including round trip steamer fare. The groups will leave New York, June 10, June 30 and July 16. Further information may be had from the New York headquarters of the American Peoples College in Europe, 55 West 42 Street, New York City.

## Who's Who in This Issue

H. J. Voorhis is Headmaster of the Voorhis School for Boys at San Dimas, California.

Richard B. Beaman is a student at Union Theological Seminary who has recently been engaged in investigating industrial conditions.

Grover Clark is a consultant on Far Eastern affairs and was formerly editor of the *Peking Leader*.

Edwin L. Clarke is professor of sociology at Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.

## A Request

We would be grateful for the return of any extra copies readers may possess of our issues for January, February, March, July, September 14, October 5 and December 7, 1932.

THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N.Y.C.

## World Tomorrow Radio Hour

Station WEVD                      Wednesday  
1300K—231M                      Jan. 18, 5:45 P.M.

Speaker: William Pickens

Subject: *The Negro and the Depression*

Other weekly features of Station WEVD:

The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.

Michael Strange, Tuesday, 5:15 P.M.

Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 P.M.

Birth Control Radio Series, Monday, 5:00 P.M.



## THE LAST WORD

"THE real greatness of a country," declares a bulletin from a Near Eastern college, "lies neither in the thickness of its population nor in the wealth of its mines, nor in the extent of its lands, nor in its military power, but in the social condition of its citizens." I cannot quarrel with this stout assertion; but I am compelled to point out in these days when the thickness of our population seems to me to have reached its maximum density that nothing in the world can save stupid humans from the effects of their own stupidity, if they insist on adhering to their thickness.

The folly of "Buy British" movements and campaigns to "Buy Patagonian" will soon be emulated here. Erudite journals of the learned societies, such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, have been doing their best to slip over a "Buy American" drive. But the trouble is, these efforts do not go quite far enough, and everybody knows it. "Buy Illinois" and "Buy California" slogans have already been flung from the lips of economic salvationists, and it is only a matter of time when we shall begin a great coast-to-coast cacophony of cries to "Buy Choctaw," "Buy D. K. E.," and "Buy Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit-Predestinarian."

And to think that a sincere man of patriotic motive once wrote a book, which was wished piously on all school children who could be coerced into withstanding its dullness, called "A Man Without a Country". No man, were it possible to find one, could be in happier state. In fact, shortly after the end of the World War, a group of distinguished Frenchmen, Germans, Swiss, Englishmen and others met in solemn conclave, joyously renounced their respective citizenships, and entered formal application with their several governments to discharge them from all the privileges (?) of belonging to any nation. Their plan was to set up a little community where it would be possible to live in freedom from those particular and oppressive forms of imposed madness which arise from the theory of nationality. They were not anarchists, for they believed in government; but government, they saw with the wisdom of insight, had no necessary relation to the arbitrary colors which made it possible for little Willie to get out his map and differentiate between Czechospeedia and Jugowaybackia. They pointed out the existence, in actuality, of the so-called Nansen passports, under which White Russians and other expatriates managed to encompass the rigors of modern frontier suspicions on the authority of the League of Nations.

You would have thought that such ungrateful reprobates would have been kicked out at once, dismissed from responsibility by a group of governments happy to be rid of them. But on the contrary! One of the first laws of nationalism is that those who are crazy must not tolerate the sane. And consequently, all their bright dreams were rudely shattered before the god of boundaries; they were dragged like the rest of stupid humankind either into conscript militias or sent sternly to prison for their pains. The motto of the nations is and always has been, "Do unto others when they act foolish as you wish others would do to you if ever you yourselves acted untrue to standard." That you know you never will, makes no essential difference in the principle. No; in my files for many years I have been gathering material for a story which I should relish leaving behind in service to the race. It will be called, I think, in a frank attempt to indicate the mood of sad commiseration, "The Man With Just One Country".

There are, to be sure, some people who escape their environment by the device of changing their names. I heard, the other day, about a family named Darby who once lived in the South and who inherited wealth from an uncle whose name was Enroughy. A condition of the will was that the Darbys should take his name. They did; but all their lives long they pronounced it, and insisted upon others doing so, as Darby.

*Eccentricus* ■



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Published by

FALCON PRESS

NEW YORK, N. Y.